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ABSTRACT

Complaints about changes in East German education following the break-down of the communist system are widespread. Critics are dissatisfied with: (1) the rapid pace of change; (2) the lack of genuine East German solutions; (3) the loss of the German Democratic Republic's (GDR's) identity; (4) dominance by Western Germany; and (5) the lack of West German sensitivity to the east's problems. Over time, easterners realized that GDR's rigid socialist education system had to be changed. The scope of political indoctrination in the schools and the dearth of meaningful education and training, combined with growing instability in the Soviet Union, left little room for gradual change. Strong support for conservatives in western Germany in the long run helped keep Helmut Kohl, a strong proponent of reunification, in power. There was little significant effort to improve East German education. East and West German concepts of egalitarianism differed greatly, with the East promoting uniformity and the West employing a structurally differentiated system of educational "tracks." The post-reunification goals of academic freedom and decentralization will require further changes. East German education will continue to face problems of finance, teacher quality, restructuring, and a lack of private support. Nonetheless, in 10 years, East Germany is likely to occupy a highly competitive educational position in Germany and the European Community. (Contains 32 references.) (LBG)

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One Year after the Revolution:
Politics and Policies of Education
in the Eastern German States

Lutz R. Reuter

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Introduction

The Wende or break-down of the communist system in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the fast process of reuniting the two German states had a heavy impact on all education and research institutions, on the educating staff and on the curricula, the process of policy making and the restructuring of political institutions on the level of the Laender (states), counties, and communes. The article outlines current problems of the education system within the new Laender and describes the major developments and problems since the "peaceful democratic revolution", focusing on the time since the socio-economic union and the political unification. It analyses the consequences for the political-institutional framework and the reproductive functions of public education systems: socialisation, selection, integration.

Practically all public policy subject matters and areas were and still are involved in the ongoing system transformation process in eastern Germany. But while it does not make sense to play off one policy area against the other, the education politics and policies obviously are of particular importance with respect to their required functions and their dependency on political ideologies. Although education itself is a longterm process, thorough and as far as possible fast changes of the old GDR-system were thought to be necessary. Some of those aspects are listed below.

Immediate changes obviously were necessary when it came to subjects which were directly instrumentalized for socialist goals (e.g. education of the "socialist citizen", "hatred toward the class enemy"; Staatsbürgerkunde [social studies], or the compulsory studies in Marxism-Leninism).
Several subjects, courses of studies, and programs like law, business administration, "scientific communism" et al. are widely obsolete; others like pedagogy, German literature [Germanistik], history, philosophy, or other humanities have at least to overcome their normativism and methodological monism.
Educational goals and expectations as outlined in the Education Law of 1965 legitimized the demand for a particular ideological reliability of teachers and professors. Top cadres like principals, university rectors, superintendants, or higher ranking administrators had to be SED members or at least members of a national front or block party; only a very few were not.
Ideological reduction, transfer of research into the academies of science, censorship and restrictive publication conditions, and the way of recruiting the academic personnel, left research and publications in various subjects at the eastern German universities internationally incompetitive.
Differences of the competitiveness of schools and universities with respect to instructors' qualifications, curricula, working conditions and equipping may drive the most mobile and quali-

fied students and scholars to institutions in western Germany; thus the necessary pote ıtial for reconstruction might get lost.

The introduction of the market economy and of the system of liberal democratic administration on the Laender and local levels since summer 1990 require a wide range of continuing education and retraining programs. Under the threat of high unemployment figures, vocational further education and retraining on the job became major means to reintegrate people into the workforce. In general, vocational and professional education appeared to be among the preconditions for economic reconstruction.

The article first outlines politics and structure of the education system of the former GDR. It then describes the education politics and policies since the revolution and the consequences of the accession to the FRG for education in eastern Germany. It follows the analysis of the developments in five education politics and policy areas such as pre-school education; elementary and secondary education; vocational education; higher education; adult and continuing education and in-service training.

Education System of the German Democratic Republic

The system of "democratic centralism" meant that the SED as the "party of the ruling working class" was the only political power in state and society as constitutionally fixed in Article 1 GDR-Constitution of 1974.

Consequently, the East German education system was put under central comprehensive administration which nevertheless was split up into three main branches such as Ministerium für Volksbildung (general education), Staatssekretariat für Berufsbildung (vocational education), and Ministerium für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen (higher education). In addition, some specialized universities and schools were administrated by other departements (e.g., medical universities by the Department of Health) or interestingly by the SED itself.

The regional and local administrative bodies, consisting of destrict, county, and city school councils, were completely restricted to follow the instructions of the central administration which could not act independently.

All significant decisions on education policy and personnel were made in the top circles of SED, Politbureau, and Central Committee. Formally, most of these decisions were "common provisions" (or statutes) of the Politbureau and the Council of Ministers (government) whose function was to publish and enforce them.

The quantitative planning of the education system was part of the central economic planning

process and as such subordinate to the various central planning bodies. Separate from planning general and higher education, vocational education was under the jurisdiction of the Central Planning Commission. This meant practically that not only the number of jobs within all branches of the economy were subject to planning, but also the numbers of senior high school, college, and university students and of those in apprenticeships and full-time vocational schools. Correspondingly, facilities and materials as well as staffing were subject to central planning also. Teaching was centrally planned through kindergarten, school, and university programs; curricula were issued by the central departments of the government, developed with support of the Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften (responsible for elementary and high school curricula and the teachers' colleges), the Zentralinstitut für Berufsbildung (responsible for vocational education, curricula, and training programs), the Zentralinstitut für Hochschulbildung (university programs), the Institut für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen and some professional commissions, responsible for the different vocations (curricula for other higher education institutions).

Contrary to other countries and mainly to West Germany, the GDR had only a few major laws on education: The School Education Reform Acts of 1946, 1950, 1959 stood for the socialist transformation process of education. The comprehensive Education Act of 1965 finally established the "socialist system of education", beginning with day-care nurseries for small children up to 3 years, kindergartens, and day-homes for elementary school pupils until adult (general) and further vocational education.
Fundamental goals of socialist education as outlined extensively in its preamble were the education to Marxism-Leninism, the education to the socialist state and its society, the education toward the socialist understanding of the human being, further including early military instruction, "love toward the socialist brother states", mainly the Soviet Union, and "hatred against capitalism and the class-enemy".
The Youth Act of 1974 with corresponding goals for extra-curricular activities and the non-formal education of the youth.
The Decrees on Vocational and Further Education and Their Function on Developing the Societal System of Socialism of the GDR of 1968 and 1970.
The Council of Ministers' Decree on the Development of Higher Education of 1969.

In short, contrary to a huge number of orders and instructions of the various political bodies, the number of de jure and de facto laws was very small. But it should be added that the role of the laws on education was completely different to their function in liberal democracies: party decisions were fixing the major long-term goals and programs and thus were highest-ranking, laws had to operationalize and to enforce these decisions. The Education Act of 1965 and government decrees were transformed through numerous statutes. Problems which might have

come up with enforcement, institutional performance, assessment or deficits were related to those education laws and not to the party decisions. The SED was not bound to the constitution, but was the one to interprete or even redesign it. There was no way to call for a court ruling against educational laws and statute. Against administrative actions and decisions like barring a student from access to the EOS or senior high school, appeals other than the informal (and mostly irrelevant) complaint or Eingabenbeschwerde were not available. The concept of unlimited and comprehensive party and state power forbade any kind of independent legislation or jurisprudence (Reuter 1992); but interestingly, some institutional structures similar to administrative court proceedings emerged in 1988.

Voluntary day-care facilities and kindergartens for the up to six year olds and day-homes for elementary school students whose parents both were working were available bearly everywhere in the country, if the mother could or would not claim a parent leave. Compulsory general education at the Allgemeinbildende Polytechnische Oberschule (POS), a kind of mostly undifferentiated comprehensive school and centerpiece of the socialist school reform of the early sixties, included grades one to ten, while only 10-12% of the students, depending on personal achievement, social activities, political reliability, and social class background, could enroll for a two-year program (grades eleven and twelve) at an Erweiterte Oberschule or extended Oberschule (upper secondary or senior high school [EOS]), leading to graduation or Abitur . Just with respect to the enrollment limitations, another important route to college or university was to enroll in a three-year vocational program including the high school graduation. But it was up to the lateron employers to offer these young people a paid leave and send them to university. Already during the early fifties, the SED had set up the so-called Worker and Peasant Faculties, special schools within the universities which educated students without highschool graduation from the corresponding social classes. For those who could or did not want to enroll at an EOS, it was compulsory to join one of the regular vocational education programs which -- set up of an apprenticeship and a vocational school -- widely followed the traditional and still dominating German pattern.

Admission to college or university -- similar to the EOS -- depended on four variables: [1] individual performance; [2] socialist "standing" and activities shown within the socialist society; [3] parentage, i.e. belonging to the Werktätige or working classes; [4] -- and during the last one or two decades most important -- the subject-specific admission figures of the state planning commissions, based on estimates about numbers and kinds of qualifications needed. With respect to the strict enrollment limitations, East Germany had only a relatively small number of universities. The East-West German student ratio was 1:1.8. All programs included compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism. Pre-military training programs during the breaks were obligatory.

Special (mostly secondary) schools emerged already during the sixties for specificly talented children (e.g., mathematics, science, arts, sports), structurally similar to the West German Gesamtschulen , based on earlier course differentiation (tracking) with respect to student performance. Besides the basic POS principle of teaching all students without tracking, different to the West German tripartite lower secondary school system, the idea of polytechnical education, i.e. early workplace and life orientation, was crucial for the GDR school system.
Although not working pretty well in practice, the concept was to integrate theoretical technico-economic education with practical experience through work during one weekday.

East Germany finally had a wide range of local Kulturhäuser (cultural centers) and of continuing education programs (mainly vocational, training, and professional programs), offered by political parties and unions, Urania, Gesellschaft für Sport und Technik also involved in military-related educational and training programs, etc., while the traditional German Volkshochschule (local and county adult education center) was less common.

East Germany had very few privately run education institutions, such as kindergartens and small schools and seminaries, run by the Protestant and Catholic churches.

The SED, the FDJ (party youth organization), and the unions had free access to all schools and universities where they had their own organizational structure ("cells"). As a matter of fact, there was a dual structure of general administration and SED/FDJ supervision within each institution and within the upper branches of the education administration (Anweiler 1988, 1990a, 1990b; FES 1989; Hörner 1990; Waterkamp 1987).

Education Politics Since the Wende and the Consequences of the Accession to the Federal Republic of Germany for Education in Eastern Germany

During the first weeks after the peaceful overturn of the old regime, already some changes occured within the system of education: [1] Less a matter of educational reform than an answer to the fact that many students did no longer show up on Saturdays, the five-day school week was at last formally introduced, although already discussed for a while. [2] The socialist Staatsbürgerkunde was dropped, yet in some schools teachers continued to teach social studies and tried to develop new democratic concepts. [3] The pre-military education in schools and universities as well as the militarization of the contents of education were abolished. [4] Margot Honecker, head of the Volksbildung Department and wife of the former secretary general, was dismissed. [5] All regulations referring to the superiority of the SED and the role of political organizations in education were dropped. [6] Finally, the most outspoken hardliners among teachers, professors, school principals, superintendants, university rectors, pro-rectors,

and deans were dismissed or put into premature retirement (55-year olds and older) (DGBV 1990: 47-56). Prime Minister Hans Modrow admitted that the inflexible and indoctrinating education system was in many respect accountable for the social protest. His inaugural speech and government program therefore promised de-ideologicalization and de-regularization, differentiation and individualization - but within the framework of a democratized socialism within an independent East German state.

Already on Dec. 11, 1989 the Bund-Länder Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung (Federation-Laender Commission on Educational Planning and Promotion of Research [BLK]) started discussing a structural and qualitative equalization of the two German education systems, support for the GDR, and possible exchange programs (BLK 5/89). Four weeks later, the West German Federal Minister of Education Jürgen Möllemann met his East German counterpart Hans-Heinz Emons to decide about establishing a German-German education committee and stating the need of a close cooperation on all fields of education and of exchange in higher education, as well as the high priority to modernize the vocational education in East Germany (BMBW 4/90). On its February meeting, the Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz (West German Standing Conference of University Presidents [WRK], since October 1990: Hochschulrektorenkonferenz [HRK]) adopted a resolution about cooperation with the GDR universities, focusing on some preconditions such as the freedoms of teaching and research and academic self-administration. It offered support for modernizing and expanding the GDR higher education system and for increasing its competiveness (WRK Febr., 12-13, 90). A few days later, the Kultusministerkonferenz (Standing Conference of the Laender Ministers of Education and Science of the FRG [KMK]), in reference to its last all-German meeting in 1948, picked up the aforementioned proposals and formally invited the East German representatives to join a common meeting after the popular elections were held on March 18, 1990 (KMK Febr. 15-16, 90). In a speech, Jürgen Möllemann designed a long-range program of goals, measures, and means, thus anticipating those policies that became widely adopted during the upcoming months (BMBW 22/90). On April 26, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft ([West] German Science Foundation [DFG]) finally proposed to extend its tasks on all-Germany as soon as possible (DFG 12/90).

After Hans Modrow had realized that there was no chance for any kind of a democraticly reformed, but socialist GDR and when the Central Round Table, as set up already in December 1990, began to control the transitory government and to act as a quasi-parliamentary body, extensive discussions about thoroughly reforming the education system began. In March 1991, his minister of education published e.g. the "Theses on Education Reform", a program of thorough change and convergence with the West German system, and the draft of a new Gesellschaftskunde or civics curriculum. But time ran out before Hans-Heinz Emons was able to

bring through and implement any kind of major reform.

After the landslide victory of the alliance parties and their bourgeois allies on March 18, the process of democratizing and reshaping the eastern German education system was speeded up. Yet before the new East German secretary of education was appointed, the West German office holder pushed forward by publishing a more detailed program on education reforms and the equalization of the two systems. He repeated his proposal of establishing a common Education Commission (BMBW 47/90). On their first meeting on May 1, he and the new East German secretary of education Hans-Joachim Meyer (since December 1991, he holds the same office in Saxony) widely agreed on these proposals (BMBW 60/90). The Common Education Commission was established already on May 16. In June, Meyer began his policy of checking teachers, professors and administrative staff with respect to their responsibilities during the communist regime and their prospective reliability in terms of democratic attitudes ("de-Stasi-fication"). Some were dismissed or as far as possible put into premature retirement. Major system changes indeed were not undertaken, because that would be under the jurisdiction of the not yet reestablished eastern German Laender. Yet, some decisions were important and should be mentioned: [1] The legal priority of Russian was abolished and parents and students were now free to chose among English, French, and Russian. [2] The program for the 7th grade and up was differentiated between compulsory and optional courses, beginning in school year 1990/91. [3] All students got free access to upper secondary education, only depending on student performance. The existing limitations were dropped. [4] New statutes about parent-teacher-student participation were issued. [5] Provisional Laender school administration authorities were established on May 30, 1990; and finally in June, new office holders were appointed for all school executive positions.

Also within the institutions, many changes occured. E.g., a growing number of East German professors and teachers started looking for communication with their West German peers (sitting in on classes, giving lectures, team-teaching, organizing conferences and common research programs). But on the other hand, questionable actions occured. Under the Modrow regime, e.g., party officials who had lost their political jobs got positions in schools, universities, and within the education administration. The Central Round Table and since April, the new minister had failed to issue a halt in recruitment. Another example: Central Round Table and reform groups had missed to demand for thoroughly appointing new principals and school administration officials already in January 1990. Many teachers complained that old Seilschaften [connections of comrades] were already reestablished in May and June when those appointments finally were done. Critical teachers were intimidated in order to vote for old office holders.

Until July 1, all major West German federal, Laender, and corporative education agencies including the not yet mentioned German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) had developed programs to coordinate and egalize, to cooperate and transfer support (funds, equipment, and manpower) which had already started during the summer and fall of 1990 (DAAD 6/90). There is no doubt that all major forces in East Germany agreed on a comprehensive reform of its education system. But it is obvious that further major driving forces for educational changes and equalization were located in West Germany. In fact, this continued to happen at least until summer 1991 because of the Land-to-Land "tandem" partnerships in order to help reestablishing education administrations.

The Agreement about the Monetary, Economic, and Social Union between the two German governments of May 18, 1990 (realized on July 1) did not directly refer to education because of the primary responsibility of the Laender as mentioned above (Münch 1990:1). But it set into force in East Germany various West German economic and social laws thus bringing in line selected subject matters of the two German education systems. This included the Federal Vocational Education Act, reestablishing the "dual system" of vocational education, extending the existing system of corporative institutions and policy making, and introducing the West German "system of (about 360) occupations", on the one hand and the Federal Labor Promotion Act, significant basis for the claims of unemployed workers to get further training or comprehensive retraining benefits (75-85% of their last pay plus program expenses) for up to three years. The abolishment of the border checks had an impact on students who started enrolling in educational programs in West Germany and particularly in West Berlin. The setting-up of the government-run Treuhand "trust" and its tasks to take the state-run eastern German economy into private ownership happened to have the first signicant impact on education already in late-summer 1990 when some company-run day-nurseries, kindergartens, and vocational schools were shut down and not transferred into local or private responsibility.

Since spring, numerous private-school initiatives had sprung up in East Germany, not a few oriented to the Rudolf Steiner concept of pedagogy. But despite some West German counseling, lack of experience and above all lack of money and most important the immobilism of the old education bureaucracies were often responsible for that only a very few really could open last fall.

The establishment of the newly elected East German government (on April 19) was a kind of starting-point of an extensive and wide-range transfer of money, equipment, and personnel into the East German education system including the set-up of common commissions, conferences, and committees, a 100 million deutschmark value ad-hoc program to buy new school and college course books (funded by the federal government and the publishers), a computer-

support program, Land-run programs to build-up Land education departments and local education administrations including staff-lending, training eastern German administrators, and exchange programs, DAAD programs to establish part-time and full time visiting professorships ("flying faculties"), et al. Seen from below, i.e. from the institutional level, the time between March (probably already December 1989) and December 1990 was marked by the absence of administrative authority, trenchantly formulated, and by a wide range of activities and experiments within many educational institutions. Thus, e.g., within departments of Marxism-Leninism at the teacher colleges and universities, be it motivated to jump on the bandwagon in order to avoid dismissal or be it to bring through long-time wished changes, mainly groups of younger professors started to actively cope with the democratic change, to organize conferences, and to develop new programs and retraining courses for teachers. It therefore was a harsh set-back for those -- mostly in close cooperation with West German colleagues -- who had organized these activities and programs when Education Minister Hans-Joachim Meyer suddenly decided to halt them all and to skip the renewed social studies programs. Finally, he in fact killed practically all retraining programs by announcing that no former Staatsbürgerkunde teacher would be reappointed to teach social studies without any kind of personell screening of how he or she had done his or her job. But only a few teachers who sometimes had been actively opposed to the old Staatsbürgerkunde boldly continued, determined even to go to court if necessary (see case study on Staatsbürgerkunde of Block/Scheffler 1991).
The Unification Treaty of Aug. 31, 1990 finally, including several articles on education, science, sport, and culture (Art. 35-39), made the last central government-level decisions before the Laender governments were established in late November (Münch 1990: 43); transitional Laender representatives had been appointed already in September.

Article 33 deals with culture; its major contents are: The cultural substance in eastern Germany shall not be damaged by the process of reunification; the existing cultural task including the necessary funds shall be guaranteed. The legislation and competences of the new Laender, of counties and communes shall be observed. Former centrally organized or supervised cultural institutions shall be taken over or be supervised by the Laender or the communes where they are located. Exceptionally, a federal funding of cultural institutions -- mainly in Berlin -- may be possible. Cultural institutions, separated in consequence of war, occupation, and division of the nation, shall be reunited. The Kulturbund or official culture association of the GDR the main task of which was to support culture und to pay and to keep in line artists, writers et al. shall not be dissolved before December 1994. For a transitional period of time, the federal government may fund, insofar not violating the legislative order of the constitution, cultural activities and institutions within the new Laender .

Article 37 deals with education; its major contents are: GDR-degrees and certificates continue

to remain valid; they are treated as equivalent to those in West Germany if they are of the same value. Relevant federal and EC regulations will enjoy priority. In general, the authorities responsible for academic degrees, e.g. the KMK or the universities, will formally confirm on application the equivalence and transcribe the degrees. For teachers' examinations, the existing procedures to formally recognize degrees of the different Laender will apply; and some transitional rules will be set up. Vocational degrees corresponding the "system of occupations" (western Germany) and "system of skilled workers' certificates" (eastern Germany) will be equivalent and if possible and necessary transcribed.

The reorganization of the eastern German school system is under the unrestricted jurisdiction of the new Laender, and provisions to recognize school graduation degrees are within the competence of the KMK. But for both cases, the Hamburg Agreement of 1964/71 (to equalize the Laender school systems: e.g. school typology and organization; beginning and end of the school year; vacation regulations; foreign language requirements; examinations and certificates including university entrance requirements) and the existing KMK decisions will apply. This in fact limits the political decision making of the new governments to a certain typology of schools and degrees. It is on the universities to recognize or not courses taken and credited under the old regime and students had got credit for with respect to being appropriate and qualified. All GDR Abitur degrees (high school graduation) are recognized corresponding to a KMK decision of April 1990, thus allowing eastern German students to enroll at all German (and EC-European) universities. Some restrictions apply in case of admission-restricted subjects like medical science or pharmaceutics.

Article 38 deals with science and research; its major contents are: A comprehensive and thorough renewal of science and research in eastern Germany are called to be necessary in order to bring them up to international standards. The Wissenschaftsrat (Science Council), responsible for governmental counseling and decision-making on higher education and research, will evaluate the former GDR institutions (which actually began in spring 1991). It will have to deliver recommendations to the federal and Laender bodies about how to classify the colleges, universities, and research institutions, about if and how to continue to maintain and develop or to (partly or fully) close these institutions ("Abwicklung "). The East German Forschungsrat (Research Council) is to be dissolved.

Germany shall get again a commonly restructured research system. The research institutions of the Akademie der Wissenschaften shall be closed down (abgewickelt) until December 1991 resp. be transferred into the existing Laender universities or into other institutions or put under other legislative responsibility (Trägerschaft). The academy will continue to exist as an association of scholars. The labor contracts of researchers and staff, as far as not yet fired because of other reasons (e.g. Stasi collaboration) are therefore temporary ones

("Warteschleife"); yet the receiving institutions may offer new contracts. The same applies to various similar institutions like the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Academy for Constructing or the Leipzig based Youth Research Institute. Colleges run by the SED and the National People's Army had already been shut down by the GDR authorities.

The new Laender governments shall negotiate with the other Laender and the federal government about joining the system of comprehensive educational and research planning, as set up by Art. 91b Basic Law, by the related federation-Laender agreements (esp. the Agreement about the BLK), and the already existing BLK agreements and programs. All existing instruments and programs of German (e.g. DFG, DAAD) and European institutions (e.g., European University College in Florence; e.g. ERASMUS, COMMET, PETRA) or as based on bilateral international agreements (e.g. German Fulbright Commission) concerning education, vocational training, research, or the exchange of students and scholars are to be extended to the five new Laender.

The Laender governments can fire school teachers and professors, if they are no longer needed, not adequately qualified, if they had violated human rights or been teaching "ideology" subjects such as Staatsbürgerkunde , history, pedagogy, philosophy, Marxism-Leninism ("scientific communism"). The same is true in the case of closing down colleges, schools, or departments. [In order to handle this difficult matter, those concerned were dismissed on December 31, 1990 and put into the so-called Warteschleife or transitional status which definitely ran out on July 1, 1991. Funded through ABM (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaβnahmen or job creation programs of the Federal Labor Office), some continue to work in higher education.]

In addition to the unification treaty, several statutory orders were adopted for the transition period by the two "national" ministries of education and the provisional representatives of the new Laender, dealing with parent representations, inner-school rules, inner-university affairs including student administration (Studentenwerke), programming, and teacher education. Otherwise, the existing laws, regulations, and policies within the framework of the federal jurisdiction automatically applied with the accession of the GDR. Thus, on the field of higher education, the eastern German senior high school and college students can claim grants based on the Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz (BAföG [Federal Education Promotion Act]); but some transitional provisions apply.

Pre-school Education

In the GDR, about 70% of all children up to three years visited day-care nurseries, open between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m., because 87%, related to some statistics even more than 90% of all women 16-60 years old were employed, those enrolled in (higher) educational programs included (Anweiler 1990a: 162; Hörner 1990: 12; FES 1989: 17). The care was free-of-charge; the parents had to pay only 7-10 marks per month for the meals. Kindergartens for the 3-6 year olds were also not compulsory, except some programs for five-year olds who did not attend any kind of kindergarten program. 94-98% of all children of the groups three to six years old were enrolled (in West Germany: only 79%). The parents' food contributions were similar to the day-care institutions, but could get up to 30 marks. Economic pressure and interest to increase the family income, less ideological reasons stood behind the growth of the pre-school system.

Despite a growing concern about the problems of early childhood education outside the family, most parents currently depend on these institutions because of economic and job insecurity. Part of the kindergartens and nurseries were rather poorly equipped, forced to use insufficient facilities, and did not employ enough nurses and pedagogical staff with respect to the number of children. The educational programs for toddlers, focusing more on normative education such as adaptation, discipline, or cleanliness rather than on personal development like individuality, creativity, and spontaneity were criticized during the eighties, but only partly changed (FES 1989: 19; Anweiler 1990a: 160-62). Kindergarten and pre-school programs were more positively assessed except for some obvious components of ideological indoctrination ("socialist education"). These institutions were run by the government, communes, companies, and the Protestant Church and were except the latter funded by the government and the companies. After the economic union and after unification, the companies wanted to give that up, while villages, towns, and counties because of their serious financial problems had difficulties to take them over (Deutscher Städtetag, KK no. 540 of June 19, 1990).

The three-year education of the pre-school educators was increasingly improved during the last decades; it will be transferred into the newly founded Fachhochschulen, a kind of (teaching oriented) professional college.

For the time being, only a few kindergartens were actually shut down, since most are still financially supported by the federal government. This policy will obviously have to be continued longer than originally planned (December 1991). Like many school teachers and college instructors, pre-school educators and nurses fear to loose their jobs which up to now mostly proved to be wrong. Because of the much lower degree of ideological indoctrination, most of them were not subject to Warteschleife regulations and subsequent dismissals. In the long run, it will be on the eastern German Laender legislatures to introduce kindergarten acts regula-

ting local respective private responsibilities (Trägerschaft) and funding as well as minimum requirements for space and equipment, group sizes, pedagogical programs, and education of the pedagogical staff. There is no question that in some years the parent contributions will rise with respect to their income as it is the case in western Germany. It might be not unlikely that early-childhood education will go down to a significantly lower level and that the number of kindergartens will diminish somewhat also, be it because women are among the first to loose their jobs (a recent federal constitutional court decision [BVerfG 1 BvR 1341/90 of April 24, 1991] ruled that the wholesale release of civil servants in eastern Germany was not unconstitutional, but exempted among others pregnant and child-raising women) or be it in the long run because of a positive economic and income development, the increase of part-time jobs for child-raising parents, and an attitudinal change among them.

Elementary and Secondary Education

The major and controversial issue in eastern German education politics and policies -- perhaps besides the shutting-down of institutions and dismissal of many instructors and scholars in higher education -- was and is schooling. The unified secondary school (grades 5-10) with its typical lack of individual achievement-oriented and curriculum differention, its ideological indoctrination in the humanities, its inefficiency in teaching foreign languages, its teacher domination, its concepts of military instruction and polytechnical education, and finally its mechanisms of vocational orientation and counseling stood and stands in the center of all reform demands (DGBV 1991: 45-48; Hörner 1990: 13-19; FES 1989: 21-34).

The curricula, literally uniform in concept and implementation in all parts of the GDR, had been revised late during the eighties. But while the former strongerly theoretical accentuation was replaced by focusing more on basic knowledge and abilities, the intensive vocational counseling and thus the function of polytechnical education to "orientate" students away from higher education and academic professions toward skilled workers' vocations remained. The mechanisms of manpower planning which within the schools started already in the sixth grade in order to balance job supply and demand (at least the second or third student choices of occupation should respond to the socialist economy requirements) were completely dropped in 1990. While military education and Staatsbürgerkunde were abolished already in late 1989, the latter replaced by Gesellschaftskunde in March 1990, based on a temporary curriculum, reforms of all curricula are still ongoing. The history curriculum was not dropped formally, but the teachers were expected to follow a pluralist approach and especially to deal critically with socialist topics and Stalinism. Other changes were about foreign languages. The priority of the Russian language was given up; the students could choose among English, Russian, and

French. But the 80% choice by the fifth-graders of English as the first foreign language at the beginning of the school year of 1990/91 caused some problems. (Similar to other former communist countries, former Russian teachers joined retraining programs for English or German.) The request for Latin which had an extremely marginal position could mostly not be fulfilled.

Other problems which came up during the period of transition were related to the often insufficient school equipment and the lack of new school books. While books for the humanities and social sciences were no longer used and widely replaced through western German material throughout the year of 1990/91, books for mathematics, sciences and others despite some obvious socialist elements are still in use. But the most crucial topic for the teacher-student relations and the society were the socialist teacher education, teacher attitudes, behavior, teaching before and after the revolution, their membership and activities within the socialist party and teachers union, their role in the socialist state and society. Their loss of credibility, their helplessness or even inability to deal with the new situation, job insecurity and personal daily-life problems put many teachers, less the younger than the older ones, into serious problems. In most Laender, a significant number of teachers (and all principals) were dismissed, mainly those heavily involved in party and Stasi activities (statistics are not yet available). East-west German student and teacher exchange programs, in-service training and further education programs were meanwhile set up and will be intensified when the Laender institutes for teachers' further education and curriculum development as planned will have began to operate. Former Staatsbürgerkunde teachers remain excluded from teaching social studies, but not their so-called first subject. They are supposed to study another "second" subject. Based on the existing KMK agreements, the new concepts of teacher education will respond to the competing school types and stages (elementary; lower and upper secondary) and will follow along the lines of the western German models. The Land goverment of Brandenburg, led by a "traffic-light" coalition of SPD, FDP, and Alliance 90/Greens, decided to keep most of its teachers by reducing teaching loads and salaries down to 80%. In the light of teachers' protests and the legal provisions about the civil service, it appears to be questionable if this controversial policy of "solidarity" can be put through.

Inspite of the serious criticism with respect to the lack of structural and/or achievement-oriented differention (tracking), changes of the polytechnical school (POS) model regarding grades five to ten were not realized before August 1991. It was consented that the reponsibility and jurisdiction of the new Laender should be watched. While a thorough reform toward more differentiated individual options was unquestionable, the "new" concepts which in fact were more or less imported from western Germany were highly controversial.

While the political party manifestos of 1990 did not seriously differ on many subject matters,

their demands and proposals about secondary school education did. The conservative parties, dominated by the CDU, decisively insisted on a structurally differentiated typ of junior high school, justified with individual differences of interests, abilities, and performance, and therefore called for reintroducing the three-track system of Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium as seemingly or ostensibly demanded by the majority of the electorate. The left parties, be it citizen movement parties, SPD, the SED-successor PDS, or extreme-left wing splinter groups, wanted to use the transformation of the GDR system to reform the school system in all-Germany, demanding the overall introduction of the integrated Gesamtschule or comprehensive school. A wide-spred consent except PDS is about supporting private school initiatives including Waldorf schools (Avenarius 1991).

The elementary school systems in East and West Germany have not been seriously different, although most West German Grundschulen were organized and run as independent schools different to the first four grades of the POS. After 1945, several West German Laender introduced six-year elementary education programs; but only West Berlin stuck to that. The reunited Berlin and the surrounding Land of Brandenburg both decided to have the six-year elementary school, while all other Laender operate on four-year programs (MPI 1990: 159).

In contrary to that, the concepts of lower secondary education significantly differ; thus one can distinguish at least three models which were or partly still are to be implemented with the beginning of the new school year. The differences are insofar interesting as -- when including Berlin -- four governments are led by CDU, joined by FDP (in Berlin: great coalition of CDU-SPD; in Saxony: absolute CDU majority), while the Brandenburg government is led by the SPD. The policy differences within the groups of CDU- and SPD-led governments in all-Germany are obvious and may bring up some changes in the western Laender in the years to come.

The first model as introduced in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern follows the traditional tripartite system. Towns and counties are obliged by the School Reform Act to establish Hauptschulen, Realschulen and Gymnasien, but when demanded by a sufficient number of parents may offer Gesamtschulen also. Thus, the system is surprisingly close to what the SPD did in some liberal Laender like Hamburg, Hesse, or Schleswig-Holstein.

The second model as introduced in Brandenburg is focusing on the Gesamtschule, but -- insofar responding to the Hamburg Agreement (KMK) requirement -- admits three separate tracks (Realschule, Gesamtschule, Gymnasium) if requested by the parents. Whether this in practice will really make a difference, depends on the demands of the parents. One can suggest that a dual system of Gesamtschulen and Gymnasien may emerge. The concept does not have a western German model. In practice, it could be close to Berlin where Gesamtschule has a very strong standing and many of the still existing Hauptschulen are immigrants' schools.

As already mentioned, all lower secondary schools comprise only the grades 7-10 and shall be established as all-day schools.
The third model is a dual system of Regelschule (regular school [e.g., Thyringia]) or Mittelschule (middle school [e.g., Saxony]) and Gymnasium. The Regelschule or middle school are internally differentiated, i.e. have different course levels in some subjects like German, foreign languages, math, science) and offer five and six-year programs, thus corresponding to the KMK requirements about Hauptschule and Realschule degrees.

The CDU in those Laender realized a significant reluctance of eastern German parents used to the socialist "class-less" polytechnical high school to enroll their children in the lowest ranking Hauptschule. Since the sixties, the Gesamtschule was extremely controversial between the major political parties and was one of the most emotionalized issue of German domestic politics, denounced by CDU conservatives as "socialist unity school". Already in a short run, the eastern German developments could push the issue back on the political agenda. The transition from the old polytechnical school into the new schools occurred during this summer, based on teachers' recommendations and parent-students' decisions. But after that, it will be on the schools to transfer those students who cannot fulfill the requirements back to lower track schools.

For the time being, the upper secondary schools (senior high schools) in all eastern German Laender run only two-year programs instead of the three-year programs of the western German Gymnasiale Oberstufe. Its reason is a practical one; the POS/EOS was a 12-year school; insufficient facilities and staffing make an immediate change difficult. But after some years, the KMK process will equalize the issue in one or the other direction. Additionally backed by the already ongoing process of Europeanizing the domestic education policies, those in western Germany who already advocate and experiment with the eight-year Gymnasium might succeed.

In 1991, all new Laender adopted school reform acts, in many respect already surprisingly detailed and generally spoken rather close to systematics, contents, and legal typology of the western German school legislation standards of the eighties which was somewhat pushed forward by the highly respected comprehensive School Act Draft, published in 1981 by a reputated school law commission of the German Juristentag, the influencial organization of jurists in Germany (1981). But as already pointed out, there was a strong commitment of the political players to follow the existing legal and policy lines; and the decision of the GDR to accede to West Germany (Article 23 Basic Law) unquestionably meant a strong limitation of the political scope as determined by the Basic Law (here: Article 7 about schooling), the KMK system of equalizing agreements, and the increasing impact of European politics especially on voca-

tional and higher education. Some issues within the new school acts still remain kind of provisional and lack an adequate regulation due to the existing conditions and the lack of money (e.g., law and financing of private schools).

On the school policy agenda (August 1991) are still some important issues. To enumerate only a few: in-service further education of teachers, implementation of the new teacher education and availability of those teachers (esp. for teaching history, social studies, philosophy, ethics or religious education [which by request of the constitution must be offered as a voluntary subject]); curricula for nearly all subjects and corresponding school books; qualified administrators on the school, local, intermediate, and Land levels; the future of the polytechnical education which had a kind of West German counterpart in Arbeitslehre or economics taught in secondary schools, combined with short-term company internships. Some of the former special schools for particularly gifted students will probably survive (sports, music), while the concepts of tracking within the lower secondary schools and of individual course choice within the upper secondary schools will make them superfluous in science, mathematics, and foreign languages.

One of the problems for the years to come will be the continuous lack of adequate ressources available for school reform policies. This means that the eastern German governments and their policies will remain dependent on federal funds and therefore susceptible to national policy interests to a degree which is unacceptable in the long run for concept and functioning of federalism; in 1991, 80% of the eastern Laender bundgets were covered by the west. On the other hand, though there are not many alternatives available, the demand for equal opportunities and the danger that more young people will move into western Germany require speedy and comprehensive politics. For the time being, any estimate about the time necessary for the educational lift-up is unreliable from today's standpoint.

Vocational Education

The East German vocational education system was determined by the traditional German vocational education, based on business-oriented training (apprenticeships) and part-time school education, on the one hand and by the characteristics of the socialist society and centralized economic planning on the other. But as a matter of fact, the "dual system" of enterprise and vocational school was only a juxtaposition of practical and theoretical learning for nearly 70% of the students, since most of the vocational schools were run by the enterprises also. Here are major changes ongoing; the new school acts put all part-time and full-time vocational schools under the responsibility (Trägerschaft) of the cities and counties.

East Germany was rather successfull in developing a modern and efficient system of vocational education, thus reducing the number of untrained or partly-skilled workers to 15%. Its problems were increasingly related to the bureaucratic manpower planning system, to its components of ideological education, and to the fact that the technical and enterprise-organizational developments did not keep up with the worker qualification, circumstances which caused dissatisfaction, demotivation, and high fluctuation.

Interestingly, major changes of the centrally planned socialist vocational education system were already initialized shortly after the revolution by the state secretariat, e.g. dropping Staatsbürgerkunde and focusing on new technologies. Since major parts of vocational education (training within the enterprise) fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government, the federal vocational system (laws and statutes, programs for about 360 occupations, authorities, funding and grants) was set into force in all-Germany in summer 1990 (Hörner 1990: 19-24).

The new Laender started setting up the western German typology of a wide range of full-time vocational schools and professional colleges (three and a half-year part-time and full-time Berufsschule, one-year Berufsfachschule, two or three-year Fachschule, Fachoberschule, berufliches Gymnasium). The new Laender, although no longer restricting the enrollments to the senior high schools, decided to keep open the second route to higher education through vocational education and work experiences, similar to most western Laender. Major problems are related to new programs unknown under the state-planned economy, mainly business, banking, auditing, and commerce related occupations where qualified teachers are urgently needed. Previous and present policies include importing instructors, exchanging personnel, and retraining teachers.

Enterprises are legally forced to carry out education contracts which were set up under the old system. Federal money was made available to continue and finish these programs. But in 1990-91, due to the break-down of many companies, some 30-50,000 young people did not get apprenticeships, a fact which caused a growing public concern and immediate action such as offering apprenticeship contracts in the west and giving financial incentives to small eastern German companies with up to 20 employees for each new apprenticeship contract.

Basically, the problem of insufficient budgets available for speedy reforms and the pressure of business-people and the public for fast change is the same as in general education. Success depends on adequate ressources for vocational school restructuring, educating, and retraining of teachers, and on economic reconstruction and success of the private sector. The strength of the dual system, the close corporative linking of government and business in vocational educa-

tion, appears to be -- under conditions of severe economic depression and monostructure like in eastern Germany -- its immanent weakness. The break-down of many enterprises and the economic monostructure in the new Laender seriously limit the (vocational) educational opportunities of the young generation. But actually, the perspectives currently do not look too bad.

Higher Education

In 1989, 131,000 students were enrolled at the 55 East German institutions of higher education (10-12% of the age group compared with 19 % in West Germany); about 89% were full-time students, among them 51% women (West Germany: 38%). Typical for the impact of state planning on education since 1970 when the student figure peaked around 143,000 was the continuous decline of enrollments contrary to the developments in nearly all other highly industrialized countries. The traditional autonomy of the universities was replaced through central guidelines, a strict hierarchy from the minister of education down to the departments and institutes, and the direct influence of SED resp. FDJ on all inner-university events. The major task of the SED (or FDJ) was to "support" the professors in "ideologially educating" their students which quite obviously included to control both. A means to organize this kind of education was to set up stable seminar groups of 20-25 students at the beginning of their first year which were maintained for the whole study time; FDJ cadres were in charge of important functions of guidance and control (Anweiler 1990a: 414-24; Hörner 1990: 24-33; 40-46).

Another feature typical for socialist higher education were the compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism (ML) which contained subjects like dialectical and historical materialism, political economy of capitalism and socialism, scientific communism, and history of the labor movement. During the eighties, instructors (Dozent, Aspirant) and professors enjoyed some freedom in organizing those courses, but in general all these topics and courses were in fact closely bound to the official party politics. This part of the "ideological occupation" of higher education took about 10% of the courses and went up to 20% in some programs like economics or law. Nearly all professors and most instructors were enrolled party members which actually was a conditio sine qua non of any academic career, be it in the humanities, sciences, or professional schools. It is necessary to keep this in mind when since the revolution mainly the ML-instructors were made responsible for the ideological occupation of higher education and research. There is no question that all higher positions like rectors (presidents), directors of the sections (deans) and institutes (chairs) had to be very reliable and active party members.

Several disciplines moved far away from their western counterparts or simply vanished. This occured with most social sciences like political science, business administration, or law (some of their subject matters survived under political economy of capitalism); sociology denounced as an opposition science was close to be gone.

Finally, the universities lost most of their traditional role in research. Corresponding to the Soviet model, pure research was widely transferred into the central state institutes and academies. Applied research and development were integrated into the combines and enterprises. The universities did not loose their research function, but teaching and educating became dominating functions what might explain the unsatisfactory, often very poor libraries and technical equipment of most East German universities.

Soon after the begi ning of the revolution, demands emerged to reestablish the traditional autonomy of colleges and universities and the freedoms of teaching, learning, and research. A standing conference of rectors was established for mutual counseling and self- administration. Schools (Fakultäten) and departments were reestablished. The institutes of Marxism-Leninism, in fear of their personnel to be dismissed after the dissolution of the compulsory courses in ML, labeled themselves as social science departments. Most of them nevertheless were dismissed or retired. But it is important to mention that just among the younger social scientists remarkable actictivities to cope with socialist partiality and its domination in education and research emerged. Thus the wholesale closing was very questionable.

After the aforementioned changes of 1989/90, the process of closing nearly all central research institutions and social science institutes and of adapting the eastern German universities to their western counterparts began in summer and fall of 1990. Among the most serious problems were or still are:

[1] Development of new programs which will help the eastern German universities to become interesting for the student body in estern and western Germany and competitive with their western counterparts.

[2] Improvement of equipping libraries, institutes, offices, and classrooms; upgrading of the student dormitories.

[3] Qualification and tenure of the professors and total number of the academic personnel. [The ratio of university staff to students was 1:5 compared with 1:15 in West Germany. The teaching load of the professors was significantly lower. One the one hand, with respect to the criticism in West Germany about the decrease of the academic personnel during the last years, it would not be reasonable to reduce their numbers down to the western level, although the Laender budget problems may leave no choice. On the other

hand, the academic qualifications of some instructors and professors significantly remain behind western standards; and scholars of Marxism-Leninism are qualified for subjects no one is any longer interested in.]

[4] Regional imbalances of the eastern German higher education system. [Over 40% of all students, among them 55-65% of all students in mathematics, science, and engineering came from Saxony which financially will not be able to keep all these institutions. The reshaping of a regionally more balanced structure of higher education has begun; new universities are going to be founded or are already re-established in Potsdam, Frankfurt/Oder, and Erfurt, seriously suffering under the severe budget restraints. The basic problem of structural imbalance will probably remain.

[5] Increasing the capacities. The problems of transition drive the educational capacities down, while the demand is or in the short run will be growing, even if it might take a few years until the student-age cohort ratio will be on the former West German level.

Still now, the question how to deal with the old university personnel proves to be the most complicated and most controversial issue. Three different approaches can be distinguished:

[1] The former GDR professors and other teaching personnel will remain in their positions. From a humane standpoint, a wholesale dismissal appears to be unacceptable. Experiences and qualifications that still might be useful would be waisted. Lacking competences could be acquired within a limited time frame. Finally, many of them, when being dismissed, might -- dependent on age and subject -- be unable to find any other adequate job.

[2] Only qualified academic teachers and scholars are acceptable to guarantee the required standards in education and research. Thus closing institutions and departments is the only way for a really new beginning. Those who were dismissed and are qualified might successfully apply for adequate positions when the institutions will be reopened.

[3] Neither wholesale releases nor undifferentiatedly continued labor contracts will solve the problem the eastern German universities are confronted with: to clear the faculties from those who are obviously unqualified, who were unacceptably involved in SED activities or Stasi affairs, or who got their positions as party protégés on the one hand, and to be able to continue to work on the other, since no "immaculate" faculty members are available. Even the possibility to transfer new scholars and teachers from western Germany has some obvious limitations, not to talk about the request that -- in order to regain credibility for instance among its student body -- the scientific community of eastern Germany must come to grips with its own past.

The practice of the current Laender policies appear to follow along the lines of the third approach which in many ways is tricky when it comes to practical questions like what are the

criteria, who is in charge, and what is relevant or can be proven. The Federal Constitutional Court, as already mentioned, did not interfer on constitutional causes when many civil servants were dismissed with respect to the Unification Treaty. For those who at least temporarily remained in academic positions, a dual procedure of review on honorary and on qualification issues has begun in late spring 1991. A crucial point remains; already in summer 1990, the former GDR ministry of education had already obtained reports on both issues which were basis for dismissals or new labor contracts of the social scientists. Thus, from a legal standpoint, the new process is rather questionable.

Adult and Further Education and In-service Training

The role of the traditional Volkshochschulen or adult education centers had already changed during the early years of the German Democratic Republic. Main branch of the further education system became the enterprise academies and departments for further education of the enterprise schools. After a period of raising the general and basic vocational skills of the workers, workplace-oriented further training became more important. It served the increase of work-productivity as well as the workforce flexibility in cases of restructuring enterprises. The enterprise academies offered higher-level vocational education programs for skilled workers to get craftsman diplomas.

The Volkshochschulen had already lost their character as local state-independent centers of general cultural and family education during the Russian occupation, replaced bei URANIA, a state-run association to popularize scientific knowledge. The Volkshochschulen were mostly involved in organizing courses for adults to aquire general education degrees (tenth grade, Abitur).

The politico-ideological education of socialist cadres became a matter of genuine socialist institutions like party colleges (including numerous party district and county schools) and party academies (e.g., Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED). The latter even got the right to award the highest academic degrees and to educate young scholars in Marxism-Leninism not only for party-own institutions, but also for public universities. Politico-economic education of the economic cadres was subordinate to the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management at the Central Committee of the SED with its 14 branches of industry-specific institutes and 150 academies of the combinates (Anweiler 1990a: 490-509; Hörner 1990: 34ff., 46-51; FES 1989:)

It is obvious that the further education system is subject to very far-reaching changes; the for-

mer ubiquitous state and party influence is widely gone. Adult and further education is again subject to many different Laender, local, and private players like companies, business associations, profit and non-profit organizations, political parties, trade unions, and denominational groups. The communes will reestablish the local and county Volkshochschulen. If the companies will be able to keep their schools and academies, is a still open question. The current demand for additional vocational and professional qualification courses and complete retraining programs for the jobless is obvious. Many further education and retraining firms and organizations located in western Germany have opened branches in eastern Germany. The willingness to join these programs is great; and the local labor offices provide funds necessary to participate (Labor Promotion Act). Nevertheless, many of these programs are still questionable because of the lack of information if there will be an adequate supply of jobs. Mainly in monostructured areas where because of the break-down of one big company unemployment is very high, the reasonable choice of a retraining program is crucial, but extremely difficult as long as new industries did not settle down.

The consent on this subject is surprisingly high among governments, political parties, unions, industry, and commerce. It is a policy area of high priority; up-dating vocational and professional skills and further education toward a new occupation are seen as major instruments to overcome unemployment and short-time work as well as to attract new investments and companies.

Resumee

In 1991, moaning, complaints, and criticism about the changes in eastern Germany including the education system are common and widespread. Not only a few eastern Germans realized the change as a western German take-over, colonization, or occupation. The objects of that criticism can be summarized as following: the seemingly unlimited range and high speed of changes, the lack of genuine eastern German solutions, the loss of GDR identity, the western German dominance and their lack of sensitivity ("Besserwessis" or "better [knowing] westerners"). Some of these reproaches may be justified, particularly when it comes to insensitivity and arrogance of some western Germans. But if there was really room for relevant policy alternatives or if the route for change was already widely paved during the first six months, shall be discussed in ten final remarks.

[1] During the mid-sixties, the thoroughly reformed education system of the GDR was in some respect a challenge for education policies in West Germany. But while various changes occured incrementally in the west, most conspiciously the increase of the student

figures within the more demanding tracks of the lower secondary system and within the upper secondary school, the East German system "ossified". It was only slightly reformed after 1965, became inflexible, and in some respect remained behind, despite the moderate curriculum reforms of the eighties. The ideologicalization of curriculum contents and the teacher dominated style of teaching remained. The Russian reformers in reference to Soviet education coined the term of "command pedagogy of the barrack square socialism".

[2] Since the East German system was designed right through along the lines of socialist ideals and goals, it was no question that the revolution was to affect all levels of the education system. The discussion of how to de-Stalinize learning, teaching, and research began in most parts of the country already in October 1989.

[3] Among the most striking features that had to be changed were: the comprehensive political indoctrination on all stages of the education system; the ubiquitous role of SED and FDJ; the lack of freedoms of the teachers in teaching and educating and the lack of openness among teachers and pupils; the dominance of instructing instead of analyzing and discussing; the impact of central economic planning on general and vocational education; the lack of autonomy and independence of universities, students and professors in institutional administration, in learning, teaching, and research; finally, the lack of alternatives and choices in general, vocational, and academic education. The complicated international framework, mainly the growingly instable situation in the USSR, and the domestic expectations did not leave much room for a slower route toward unification and thus also for domestic policies like education. Four elections in eastern Germany in 1990 clearly confirmed the hopes and demands of most East Germans for a speedy reconstruction of their country in closest reference to the western part.

[4] It is rather questionable if and in how far voters were aware of the necessity and scope of the forthcoming changes of the education system. Above all, the topic of economic and political unification was decisive. Nevertheless, the two elections of fall 1990 took place after both treaties about the economic, monetary, and social union and about the political union had been adopted and published. Thus, the scope of the upcoming changes was not unknown. The November Laender elections were focusing on regional issues such as education rather than national ones. Again the conservatives continued to get a strong support which after the series of electoral losses in the west ironically helps Helmut Kohl to keep his office.

[5] Time and scope of political action on genuine eastern German concepts or the number

of prominent political players in the eastern German states were very limited. Social expectations, Basic Law, Unification Treaty, Hamburg Agreement, other KMK and BLK statutes are strong means of equalizing the Laender education systems in Germany.

[6] The East and West German concepts of egalitarianism were strongly opposed: the East German notion of equality of education was based on a widely uniform school structure, on uniform curricula and teaching practice, and to certain degree even on egalitarian student assessment. The West German model -- despite the intense controversies about ideological, theoretical, and practical impacts of equality of education opportunities of the sixties and seventies -- was based on a nationally comprehensive, but structurally differentiated system of three to four "tracks", on individual choices, on curriculum differences and other local and regional variations, on differences in terms of interests, abilities, and performances. The notion of egalitarianism which does not eclipse competitiveness means for most western Germans equality of opportunities for both, the less and the more gifted students.

[7] After the revolution, the following basic demands for fundamental change were and still are fully consented: freedoms of learning, teaching, and research; decentralization of the school administration; autonomy of colleges and universities; differenciation or flexibilization of the lower secondary school structure; de-ideologicalization and pluralization of the curricula; renewal of pedagogy and teacher education. To bring these goals through means thorough changes.

[8] Currently and for the years to come, education in the new Laender undoubtedly faces and will face a variety of difficulties: budget constraints, partly insufficient qualifications of the teaching personnel, difficulties in restructuring old or establishing new educational institutions and implementing new programs; lack of private initiatives and funds to establish a private sector in eastern Germany, particularly in continuing education similar to that in the west.

[9] In the long run, the German system of educational corporatism (KMK, BLK, HRK, Science Council, Federal Institute for Vocational Education, national umbrella organizations of labor, industry, and commerce involved in education) might be changed through the increase of the number of Laender and non-governmental players, a greater variety of concepts, and perhaps also the impact of what could be called "GDR-traditions". But I do not doubt that in ten years, the eastern German Laender -- the GDR once was known as a "learning society" -- will occupy a highly competitive position in Germany and within the European Community with respect to various policy areas including education and qualification.

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